634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales
talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said
that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung
Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja,
and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even
while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan
and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matri-
lineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it
was matrilineal too, which was news to me.
Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it
was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just
as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in
Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians
here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his
overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to
Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the
garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the
kapitan with several men wading across the river
to the garden on the other side. We called him
back and he got in suspiciously and we then
drove back to his house. There he called the
kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a
relative of his, an old man with an old sarong
and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like
a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis
[scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke,
however, the old adat is still strong and the
exogamous rule still holds. The young people
who have gone to school are beginning to rebel,
but the elders remain strong and hold to the
adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
Most of the rest are Christian, although there
are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar
one of the younger generation becoming
Christian while the older generation remains
pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble families
614 eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga,
because there are five suku and about
two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers.
In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he
is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas.
Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public
works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility
and others not (I must find out more about this).
The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro
kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems
to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah
elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief
(thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is
called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u
(pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on
this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical
localization of clans in a single kampong).
He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u.
The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs
often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I
must find out how the funerals are run now.
Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember
that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the
plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and
there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even
among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.

[797] The assistant has finished five grades of
schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
●178 men (old style) although this is changing fast,
a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders
for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar
topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs
are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan.
Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they
have a holiday whenever there is the slightest
excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I
must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong
is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some remarks
624 about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in
only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently
means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan
and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong
picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the
main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a
new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish
one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing,
Christian type, who has lost the old respect
forms and feels superior to all the others. This
guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were
Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road
leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking.
Some of the children are very intelligent. I
asked about the language situation and the guru
said that only the schooled ones speak Malay
anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not,
but this is not entirely so as some of the old
ones who were never schooled are able to speak
Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns,
which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
● 178 very large and of massive stone situated under a
roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor.
Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One
burial was set up last month, as it said on a
wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone
slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a
lying down position in the stone cists. From
later evidence in Roworeke I think that many in-
dividuals may be placed in one grave. They lift
the slab, move over the old bones, and set the
new body in. In the old days they would put the
body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until
the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were
placed in a box which in turn was placed in the
cist. A rather long time ago the government made
the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

R

764 It is done in one day now, because the body begins
178 to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impression
[181] that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs
are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

R

291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

R

778 Theyagreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah
pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet
soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slendang,
[287] and a woven sarong. There seems to be no
more tapa around here. The colors of the woven
and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black,
and dull red. They are not very attractive, and
the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets
full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I
asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo]
and that it is used to make the blue and black
dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes,
but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife
and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We
went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is
small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
●178 are rather small. They are not of the high
pitched roof type. I was told that before the
war there were more of the old high roof type,
but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the
people move into the hills as they said the population
was too dense near the town. I can't
quite get the point, but new houses tend to be
low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat
in type, but still look primitive because of the
alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut
leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are
usually low or invisible because they are under
the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular
space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone
here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally
localized largely if not entirely. This
is still so. Thus one part will be all or
nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another
Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a
kampong which is rather far off. They said he
had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought
perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak.
This is not the case, however, and he had merely
come there for a day, because his wife has land
here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
●178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They
do wear different clothes, however, and as he
says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of
and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion,
they differ. There must be an intergenerational
conflict here, especially as they
are so disputatious anyway. I must check on
this.

344 The next day we^set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
In one room (they are all empty of furniture),
scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the
kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes
and others are just on the dirt. They call the
kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front
"porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a
table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle
and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed
impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and
later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

^[i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R
632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.

●[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred families in Odja. Thus only certain families are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible for kapitan. I could not get it straight who these families are, but evidently they represent the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku Odja in the direct male line. This is always via the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe, and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave the family tree of the lineage. So far as I could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene. I must come back again and find out exactly who Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
[124] etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get it straight at first. I was always worried about the loss of time in such slow questioning.

R

000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
●[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

R

551 I asked about personal names and found that
the suku name is not used as a personal family
name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians
and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed
usually employ only their own names preceded by
their Christian names, if any. But if asked,
they will also give their father's name after
their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His
church name is Adrianus. His father's name was
Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo,
but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega.
The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and
whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki,
and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is
Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak
Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten
per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel
and has almost no teeth) who can write in
the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar.
They say that in Ende town alone it is well
known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he
has two wives. This is a nice problem. The
former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile
by the Japanese during the war. Later he was
executed by the Dutch because he murdered so
many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed
many children for the fertility of the rice
fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The
Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the
same time, and many concubines. At one time he
had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine.
Each time he confesses and reenters the
mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

F 793 ●178 797 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded bishop will condemm them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying out fast.

F 634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F 344 Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Roworeke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A 753 789 Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who said that he had never heard of Baier, former Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and
later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda).
It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we
passed every kampong the children came out in
droves shouting greetings and then running after
and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as
Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same,
but some are different, for example, Catholicism
has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and
the korke of Leloba.

At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
346 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
797 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
583 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited
438 us to his hut. He is temporarily here
because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië
was burned two months ago. The people there
caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward
side, and the kampong elders voted to give
a percentage of the bride prices for quite a
long while in order that they might have the new
church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the
Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying
lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the
priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan
traders will then resell the tusks to the people
in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price.
They will probably sell them in the Tandjung
Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learning
all about the Solor language, which is the
local language here, so that they can make
prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They
177 use native songs with words in the native language
533 and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamië is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[771] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
●178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat.#3— Analysis]

[illegible]

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the
●178 kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular
535 dance place. This consists of a platform built
368 up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's ^photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of
[614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites.
[574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per-
[534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

^ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

000 trols this atomism.

124 212 115 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamië had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 ● 178 872 We talked about the way the old stories are dying out and the young people won't listen any more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 622 693 614 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang where they were to have a case hearing. It is evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several [30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a 614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry
so and so because his group is an older or a
younger brother of the latter. This could stand
further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as
follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b
wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang
Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus.
This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the
woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that
if he paid a terrific bride price he could have
her. This was done, not without some fuss, and
ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

Wa

582
614
835

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178

The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 The offices are as follows:

622

614 --Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

554 I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

Wa

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong,
however, there is still plenty of this child
betrothal business. This may take place at
the age of three to four years. They are told
of this when they are from five to six years old.
As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual
marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for
a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the
bride price anyway. In the old days, however,
a boy never refused, or almost never. The
younger brother of the guru hated the girl he
was betrothed to as a child and ran away to
Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and
they were lost by so doing. Later the brother
married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting
of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman.
His wife was from Balela. Later, the present
kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from
Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a
part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
● 178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a
horse in front of the house one night when he
was young. He looked out and there stood a
buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area.
He called his father and the latter told him to
shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's
familiars. Another time the guru was in the
fields with his father and heard stones rattling.
He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here
either. He called his father, and again his

Wa

789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
179 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not
appear any longer because the people do not feel
the need for them. But if one called them, they
could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars
are inherited from father to his successor
son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that
the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one
and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much
of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as
usual, and they came along to a stage of talking
in a way that would horrify the priests. At one
point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're
talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]."
There is plenty left here of the old paganism,
and I can see why the priest said it would be
easy for them to slide back into their former
habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit
in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest
there are feasts and many gatherings. This may
be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills.
Then they moved down to the coast where there is
a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only
about thirty years ago to their present location.
The first move was the result of the government
pressure to make them come down out of the hills.
The second move was halfway back to the hills.
Leloba has moved only once, that being the original
move down from the higher hills. Wailolong
and indeed other kampongs here have grown
fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions,
better medicine, etc. They know this
well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps growing.
000 The houses in the oldest negri lama were

~~We~~ The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five families
178 could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short distances,
829 and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail service.
There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamiё.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamiё, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamiё. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamiё is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for
the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical
significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There
is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned
was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is
not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a
lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie"
and contributing to the education of a few
promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
● 178 technological change here in the last fifty
years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people
here do not even know the name of Sukawati.
In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the
kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are
the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are
the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale
sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of
war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement
that the magical power of the officers
comes out of the holy stones. This is typically
Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 614 178 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and they said at first that one could marry within the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they [124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in
pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to
get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in
Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot
write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kam-
pong along the road, and here there is a chapel.
This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a
couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kam-
pong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with
a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
●178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is
of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood
and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjan-
tjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but
now all new ones are built in a rectangular
shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are
better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here,
and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can
get wood.

178 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few
va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The
other two round houses are near his. They form
sort of a quarter. The priests say that the
tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter
of some concern to the old people to keep at
least one boy a pagan as his successor. This
is becoming hopeless, because just about all

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
592 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,^ they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a
man buys a child, who then becomes one of his
own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582

595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is
also a medicine man, and he is important in
ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the
kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

^[i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

We
614 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the
original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu.
It happens that there are two houses in each of
the three panga in Weol, making six houses in
all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old
round houses, one with old non-wood walls.
Most of the present round houses have wood walls
and are built with nails. The roof does not
reach the floor as in the real old time houses.
The new style houses are all the same pattern,
which was introduced by a certain priest. This
is the only new style they know, and all new
ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound
above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree.
The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler,
but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang
as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one
kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But
each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan
tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as
the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in
Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong
and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the
rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there
are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven
kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also
kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
184 have a taboo on lusa.

We

000 614 592 342 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Weol newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 342 592 554 534 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there are four households. The tuan tanah has a section to one side, since the old place in the rear, as in the round house, is impossible because the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 582 614 [621] Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out of the clan. It is also possible to marry within or without the kampong, and the kampong usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We.

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the
relationships linking the individuals in this
area became more and more distant. Thus they
gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed,
since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly
all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols,
showing the effect of having worked with van
Bekkum.^ The priests try to discourage mother's
brother's daughter marriages, but they always
give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in
this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get
the idea that the priests here are less firm
regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka.
This is probably because it is a relatively
new field, and the Catholics go slowly
and gradually in destroying what is old. The
dodge they use here is special dispensation.
This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price,
is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There
is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with
his wife's family until the bride price is paid.
This may take ten years or he may never pay the
bride price, but the children belong to his
va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although
descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

^[pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

534 535 [624] ~~We~~ These drums and gongs were brought here from several kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.

At one time three little girls danced with
their eyes downcast and with very little move-
ment of the feet. They wore slendang and nice
dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with
rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his
chin like a beard. For a head decoration he
had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris,
and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
●178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

R

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

● [178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 152 186 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

R

614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind
of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the
suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

R

829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

●178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [266] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

R

721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
●178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Waturoga
as his kampong had a bond with it. In
721 addition, he married in.

648 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
656 since then there have been no wars."

R

000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
692 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-
pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five
big suku (and also others who are invited) at-
tend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba,
Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku
feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a
genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be
present at all such feasts, even though it is
not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the
same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1]
as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evident-
ly used especially in his function as an
agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge
and agricultural priest at the same time. The
mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere
of the kampong involved; thus here he is the
big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of
Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of
the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
eating, but formerly all bones from such occa-
● [178] sions were kept and were put on the houses.
Thus there is a clear relation involved between
the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah
there and such occasions (and distantly to the
Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he
gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have
had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai
Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for
schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems
that they do have plenty. I instructed the as-
sistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13—Analyst]

Wer

614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

●178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.

614 Note that the two old men who prayed were
from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes
no difference, but they do choose old people
who know prayers (however, they have one from
the suku giving the rite, as he must recite
the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around.
As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk
which was lying on the ground beside one of
the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not
very large. It is owned by the ama and is not
used for bride prices. The second part of the
rite--to give the food to the ground and posts
--came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women
took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a
hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig
and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the
ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also
smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it
was also poured on the ground and sprinkled
around under the barn. We left after this as
the rite was over, but they went on to cook and
eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively
small rite, although it was a part of
the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricultural
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with
343 all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of
all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each
suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these
too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan
coastal folk too. And war was waged with
other districts and tribes, but this was rare,
and was largely tied up with the higher politics
of the radja. A pure border war, however,
was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 Only a very few people locally have been in
621 other places enough to have inferiority feelings
484 about their own village. They have all
seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not
much and they get tired of it after a little
while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae,
of whom there are very few, are less happy
when they come back. This is a real difference.
They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the
truth is that in all Flores the towns are so
little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e.
dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore,
they see no advantage locally as over against
the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are
about the same in wealth and land holdings.
Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land
and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one
place is about as good as another.

721 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting
178 children. Now warfare is outlawed, although
578 they still carry it on in a modified way.
691 For example, there is a dispute of this kind
693 going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although
the chief says that they must not carry
on a war. There have been repeated grievances;
their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for
revenge and although the chiefs in general try
to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful.
Most disputes are settled by legal procedures,
with the kakang as the main judge and the
kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the
693 kampongs concerned making up the court.

614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

Wa.

173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine
is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people
here know this story, and he said yes. It is
evidently the main legend. He said that they
do not know it perfectly, but the main facts
and events are clear and everyone knows the
story.

There is a market place at Okka crossroads
443 every Wednesday. There used to be another on
the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the
Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer
there. It was held on Friday. There is a market
place in Larantuka town, and the market is
held there every day. However, there is no
market week system. He knows of one in Adonara.
He says it is no use to hold elaborate
markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives
fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter
gives fowl to the former. If these suku
are in different kampongs, there is the exchange,
but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs.
And again it shows how marriage is the basis of
the whole organization.

As a result of the last World War the horizons
829 in terms of the world at large were some-
●[178] what extended. For the first time, the people
here heard of Japan, the United States and other
countries. This was much the same thing that
took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago
no one here knew about such countries. As for
other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty
years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since
the war they have learned at least the names of
a few other islands. This is really epochal on

War

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. [797] [204] They said that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 521 203 The very few people who have visited towns outside of Flores are loquacious in telling about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 632 651 There has been just about no change in the political structure in the last fifty years here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

~~We~~ Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
● 178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[152] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kakang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

Wo.

783 The people here must confess at least once a
year.

666 There are only two elected representatives
632 here and also in Wailolong. The only election
565 in the area is for the parliament. There is
634 also a kind of election for the kakang. The
622 choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of
[646] the eight kampongs. In the old days, although
they got together, and went through the form of
accepting the oldest son of the deceased or
ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son.
Now they actually choose from candidates. The
candidates must be of the proper nobility, so
there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous
kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because
of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates:
Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang.
Roy says they were the only ones who were both
noble and qualified. By the latter term he
means that they were clever enough for the job.
They had to be of the direct descending family
of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of
Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee.
Roy said that he does not force a choice, but
lets everybody talk freely.

632 Then it came out that there have actually
634 been three phases in the kakang business: (1)
622 pre-1915: he merely represented the succession;
●[178] (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the
radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the
period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present:
election within limits. Roy knows the word
"candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala
kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in
1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected).
This is an example of radja tyranny.

Wa

000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 Formerly, politicians were older than they
178 are today. Indeed, they would not follow a
622 younger man formerly very well. Today there
are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving
his rightful kepala kampong post to a
younger brother. At least it is usually the
latter, for this keeps it in the proper family.
The older man keeps the adat post. (This is
what Roy himself has done here). He said that
this is done: (1) because if there is trouble
in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the
brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It
is better to have two men so that one can carry
on the administration; (2) the older man is
often unable to read and write. Formerly the
three kepala kampong were always the same men
as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] This led to a long talk about the conflict
178 between generations. Roy says that there is no
797 conflict here, as they give in if the children
are firm enough. He also says that although the
177 old resisted religious change before, they have
surrendered now and know that it is hopeless.
When they are dead they know that paganism will
be finished. It came out clearly here that the
only real force of change has been Catholicism.
And the only area of change has been religion,
although other aspects have been affected thereafter.
Thus we got again onto the subject of
religion.

I asked if, if there were a long period of
797 misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to
178 paganism. He said that this is conceivable,
but that it has gone too far now for this to be
a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong
on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli,
which not long ago decided that it would not
give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate
combination of it and Catholicism. How-

797 ever, he says that this was not caused by mis-
178 fortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying
to kill all of the old culture, and he said
that they use no force. I gave the case of
[346] the church and the taboo on the expense of re-
building a korke, and how the Catholics allowed
for the great cost of a new church in Riang
Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked
about the sale of tusks in order to pay for
the church, he said that this was a suggestion
of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging
by the priest?) and that this was to be done
only by a few families or groups which set the
disastrous fire.

583 This led us on to a talk about the tusks.
452 He says that they do not need many to keep the
marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong
and Leloba they have about twenty-five left to-
day. This is enough. But they must have at
least five, as this is the minimum price for
a girl. As long as they have the price for one
girl they can keep the system going on a credit
scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and
absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all
their tusks, and he said haggardly that this
might possibly happen here, but he didn't want
to think of the results. The minimum number of
five holds for this part of the district, but
in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so
they could keep the system going with a minimum
of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this
matter concerning the tusks is that he insists
that one cannot get married without tusks, or
at least credit for tusks. There is nothing
else that can be used for the bride price.
Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or any-
thing else used.

684 Error: I said before that the animals killed
231 in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

Wm.

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are
dormant politically, or at least they have been
until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he
is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to
the effect that all Christians and pagans were
to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later,
surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

We

178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is
clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
first gladly and were interested and liked the
175 medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614 Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 ● 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's
577 brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

Wa.

582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
● 178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule
and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

Wa.

582
584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582
621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

[484] Marriages outside of East Flores are very rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582
•178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

Wa

582 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [598] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

Wa.

584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally
to marriage. And anyway, there is no
adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
584 old days and what still goes on among the
836 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
•178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's
178 house, and the couple simply moves in. There
is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged
marriages, they have a church rite before
they sleep together. But the other type of
marriage goes on, and in this case they just
confess and get married after having slept together.
This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In
this case the first one is married in church,
but the second can have no church rites. (As
he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
721 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly
at his property (and that of his ama or suku too)
thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their
property, and they get back at him in the same
way. This might lead to war, and often did in
the old days. Note that he mentions as the second
most frequent cause of war that of molesting
women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kampongs
684 resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys
from another kampong. The girls were getting
water. The father and brothers of the girls
became angry and smashed up the belongings of

[illegible]

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were
willing to hear a request, but it had to be done
through regular channels without chiseling.
("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple
when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have
a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If
either is older it is better for a boy to be a
bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a
discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad,
even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me
that other Christians do this. It is simply
that they do not get the sacramen for the second,
or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation
is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they
begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

● 178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailolong
513 slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).^ I think he said that
this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was
not required, but they just did it. This took
place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen.
Roy did it himself. They liked this because
it was more fun. They could talk, sing,
discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically
a rule, and I wonder what they would have said
if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

^[See cat. 116, p. 166--Analysis]

We

513
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these is our "office" when we use it. These boys' houses are arranged according to suku, and are shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of acculturation within a pattern from one district to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

We

000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared
because of a wrong committed in the old days.
It is as though there were a curse on them.
Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which
did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another
group used too much magic, and it too
died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They
have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a
vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
●178 not changed at all. However, when there was
708 much warfare formerly, the women were important
in helping the men by bringing in supplies,
encouraging them, and in making magic against
the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological
warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 One firm rule which is changing today, however,
462 is that in the old days the women never did work
241 in the field, except for helping in planting and
in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree,
and it is true enough that the women are
seen around the kampong all day while the men
are off in the fields. However, nowadays more
women go out and help with agricultural work.
This is a slow trend. In the old days men would
be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work.
This was not their role (and there is a very
sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women.
They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse
of women, and they are supreme in their own
spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems
to be a bit more important. Women scold and
shout and order the men around. They are not
[573] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too
much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food
and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
•178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when
faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away.
In the old days, the regular thing was for the
parents to fix up everything by themselves.
Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak
up telling whom they like so that the parents
learn of this before they try to fix up the
marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is
shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of
trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps
this was more pronounced as new ideas came in,
if such an expression can be used for this
stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother
ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
guru had excused himself, and then we heard a
[177] low chant approaching, in the local language.
It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics
do in procession (an obvious imitation of the
priests' chanting, in the local language). Then
a line of people appeared, two by two, with a
bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and
behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had
been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that
of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

We.

764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was
held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross
yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and
other notables were there. He knocked them out
with the new words he has learned from me
(sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.).
They asked how this came about, and he said
that the American professor was responsible.
He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,^
as we talk over each point at length, and
I tell him details too, and then we discuss
everything. Also, he says, everything is told
to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it.
He tells the people, even in front of me, that
I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast
and come with material that an outsider should
not know, and because I anticipate things that
are not yet told. At one point, he said that
I could join up and become a member of the
Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an
old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in
Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There
is a case in Lewohala at the present time of
a father making a terrific fuss because his
daughter wants to become a nun and his son
wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
● 178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong
and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that
in the old days if there was a case of adultery,
the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine
had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

^[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
[614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[594] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per
165 cent of the children did not grow up. Now they nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

R

624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money
only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
the suku of the mother. And the bride price
784 must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children
back. Thus there is real ambil anak here.
The man remains a member of his own sib, and
the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes
the "married woman" totem taboos of her own
sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the
more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofec.
This group has a real house, and in it there
778 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is
614 one for each of the four suku. There are no
other suku in the kampong. There are also
plenty of belongings in the house. It is
rather large, about twelve meters on a side.
There are baskets and other objects therein.
This old kampong is only one kilometer off the
road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go
there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the
kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku
Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the
769 Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi,
far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as
is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The
distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
● 178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

R

They were
791 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present
●178 adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My
assistant's father was.

The lower school here consists of three
872 grades. It is a mission school although the
[197] government evidently makes a contribution to
it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four
kilometers across the hills, and the children
walk there) there are eight grades. Until the
present there is only one from here who has
gone as far as class seven, and ten in class
six. The school in Ndona is the highest level
school around here (and perhaps in all Flores)
except for the seminary. The eighth grade
qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school
in Ende where there is a connecting or inter-
mediate school and a middle school, I think.

[711] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran
school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 Everyone here is very much in favor of edu-
185 cation. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble
178 with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I sus-
pect did not like the mission tie-up) in such
things. But now everyone wants his children to
go to school. They are anxious to have both
their girls and boys go to school, although
they are perhaps a bit more interested in educa-
tion for their boys. If a girl is clever, how-
ever, they want her to advance too.

888 The children do show a bit of a superiority
212 feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but
there is almost always a great show of respect.
And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed.
They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 When Catholicism came in first, there was
872 much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After
178 the school came in, in 1921, there was no more
trouble. They say and insist that the pagan
elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic
children

[1] [i.e., fifty years ago--Analyst]

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

R Little meat is
262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts.
There are some eggs. They do not eat much
fish, because they must purchase them. They
do buy some food from the local store (never
any canned food, because this is too expensive),
for example, rice and salt. They do not grow
[249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need
to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and
anything else they may have, which is usually
quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of
money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a
little in the morning, and equally heavy noon
and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at
the time of a feast. They say that the main
feasts are funeral ones. They also say that
the people here have no decided preference
and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They
[266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except
for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a
clear case for meat hunger here, and the only
material gain of being a mosa laki is that you
[465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal
[171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern,
and shows how much of a luxury meat really is.
It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
● 178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the
many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

R

243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there
were no sawah. This is an excellent case of
acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the
Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron
tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to
buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps
there is too little money even to pay for a
bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the
lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the
old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of home-
spun, but these are all gone. Men and women
still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this
alone and are usually bare above the waist.
If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man.
If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick
attire. There were no shoes here at all before,
and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans
still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but
this is no longer done to the boys, only to the
girls. Beads are worn by men and women on fes-
tive occasions. These are great ceremonial
objects and are worn by the people who are
proud of them. If one is not entitled to them,
he will become sick if he wears a string of
beads.

R

304 •178 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a [302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 181 The next day I had to bring several people to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

164 We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought 754 756 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

R

000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

● [178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it is irresistible. I note that the women still
[301] have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

R

462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he lets it be known that he will lend it, and he does so at interest. People seldom borrow more than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will lend only if the borrower has some form of security, for example, a gold decoration. He charges the same rate. There were and are no government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
•178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.

The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6 and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong. They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

R

302
178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634
565
614
632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622
614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

R

666 about. But with the second election they came without pushing and were then experienced. The two electors recently chosen were both from Roworeke (Migo[1] and one other person). They went to Ende to vote.

666 646 Migo[1] is uncertain in regard to the system here, but remembers that for the Flores representatives to the East Indonesian parliament there was a list of four candidates, among them the successful one from Ende, Montero, a teacher. He is unclear about the elections for the Flores parliament too (there are two local houses: dewan radja-radja and the dewan perwakilan rakyat Flores). He does not even know how many members there are in all. There is evidently a different election all along the line for each parliamentary representation.

(I know that there are at least three representatives from Flores in the Makassar parliament: Raats, Adrianus, and Montero; maybe more?)

Migo[1] says there is no feeling on the subject of elections, as to whether they are good things or not. He says the people are just stupid, and they do what they are told.

178 The ones elected today are younger than they were before, as they have to be schooled. Formerly, the older the man the greater his influence. The hereditary posts are just that and always have been. He says there was no conflict between the old and the young, not even at first. They take anything, they are so stupid.

665 178 There are no political parties. At first there was trouble in regard to the new things, but long since the old ones have decided that this is a modern world (and how this word modern is used all over Indonesia!). There is absolutely no fuss about anything now, and there was very little fuss before.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

R

521 At feasts, when the old rites are put on,
● 178 the old people reminisce over the old days and
887 the old ways, especially when they get drunk.
Then they are mournful.

562 There are no women in politics. They do not
641 come to the election meetings and have no voice in the government. They are not even reckoned in when the population is totaled to determine the number of electors. They have no political representation, and Migo says that everyone would be against having women take any part in politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this he means only a few people know anything or ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian politics. And even about the local affairs they say almost nothing. It is starting today, and there are a few people who are thinking a little. But how absolutely rudimentary it is! This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that Roworeke is the most important kampong in the district, because it is the center. The fact is, and the kapitan and a few others know this, that rank and influence of the districts in Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja, Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the other five. About all the people know is that Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous, and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores is, or anything about the place which Flores occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their ken. There are no political ambitions (yet note that the suku Reandona has been trying to get a man into the kapitan post). They are politically dead. They know and talk nothing about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja before, but that didn't mean much. They know

R

000 does not amount to much.

178 578 When new things first came in there were certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

father	baba
father's brother	baba susu
father's sister	ṅo'o
father's brother's son	ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

R

582 835 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] [178] [565] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages. The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 178 565 567 684 Another change is the removal of the former taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days, an upper man might take as a concubine a slave girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

R

582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a reluctance
565 to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
about given up the bride price here, but that the
184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today
and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

R

585 583 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
[591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 583 ●178 This rite is still observed by the pagans, but the Catholics do it differently now. First they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

R

585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

R

836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 ●178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

R

513 882 less pondok where in the daytime I see women weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu." There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep with their parents, or rather each grown girl has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 178 Males are more influential, and they give most of the orders, but women will revolt if men do not behave. They will not give the men food, they will scold the men, etc. They act up, however, only if the men misbehave. And they are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays are a bit freer than before in regard to talking up, etc., but there is very little change, in general. The old folk are not too pleased about having the girls in school. They can't see the use of this.

614 597 Correction: It suddenly turned out that there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong, Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother (older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If the suku is large enough, it has such an adat expert in a kampong. These are the only ones large enough here. Then the true story of the kapitan came out. He is not classified as a member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa. The former kapitan adopted him. He became a foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pronounced like the French uvular r). I asked if this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means "to have two wives." (How could Wouden's source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his foster father's suku. There is no ceremony; he just moves in. He takes on a new set of relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20&85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

R

614 597 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 ●178 In former times there was a strong force behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 583 There is no divorce here, and there never was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

R

842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

R

789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause illness
753 too (note the illness fear theme; this is
just right for these folk who are ill a good
deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan
adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
● 178 thing was for the father of a girl to include
565 in the return gift at marriage, two slaves
[583] (like the "and two persons" still used in the
formula for the bride price among the Buginese).
There are slaves in the kampong now, but he
thinks that only about two to three per cent
of the population are so categorized. They
are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly
there was little intermarriage with them,
and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the
death punishment could be meted out. The
marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening,
and even a boy of slave descent (if he is
an excellent man and a good worker) may marry
a higher girl. However, they are well known,
and in general are still to be classed underneath.
For example, they have to do certain
duties (the guru said they are like "servants";
he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live
in houses with regular people, or perhaps in
their own houses. Everyone knows who they are,
but no mention is made of this because they
reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth
investigating further: exactly what are the
duties, and exactly how are they thought of
and what do they think of themselves, etc.?
(Remember that in the United States no one
really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open
charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mobility.
555 There are some meager beginnings at

R

565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assistant
555 had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku
property, and not all suku have them. Odja
and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan
and others are mad for gold: they want
to get it in order to have ornaments made for
feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they
sell these objects, they will become sick. On
ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk
(for example, members of the Odja suku) from
ordinary people. They are really unclear about
this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who
had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and
all of Gusa and all the members of some other
suku had them. They said vaguely that those
who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk."
I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said
yes. I get the idea that there are not many
of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps
only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan,
etc., can wear those of the suku at certain
feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's
wealth. And these things are suku property and
do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[423] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or
other office holder is probably a bit higher.
They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no
more of a bride price for his daughter than an
ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very
far in class investigation here, that's quite
clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at
first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I
talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear
(with a regular head) had been bought from a
traveling seller who had brought it from
Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked
a man with a spear, whose head had only one
barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He
said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later
I saw others like it. I guess they make them
themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks
on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly,
washed clothes and urinated in the
bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had
already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab
couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine
people were from Celebes. Now this place is
really going native. The toilets are falling
into ruin. I noted on my way that the telegraph
206 wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told
the next road foreman. Four days later I
found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply
uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole
place is on the way down. I hear that Radja
Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman,
as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone
will remain of the West here. The new superstition
is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka
with its constant Catholic processions. On
the way in at a suburb, a long procession with
crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a
church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

Wa.

533 871 In connection with special training for individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

191 212 Everyone here can speak the local language. Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area. [207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

● 178 412 262 There have been very few changes in the technology here introduced during the last fifty years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there 323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have 300 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change
except for the introduction of new kinds of
bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost
one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own
cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

● 178 There has been practically no change at
all since Vatter's¹ book was written. In Wailolong
they still have a tuno wudjo.

[852] Fifty years ago there were no tables or
chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to clothing,
178 especially in that a few men now wear
shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there
were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one
wore such dress formerly. They could not sew
at all fifty years ago, and there is still not
a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and
some arak. They buy small quantities of thread,
salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco.
The mountain people sell some of their forest
products.

443 There has been no change at all in the market
178 system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely
a barter pasar. Cash is used at the
Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang
pasar was still used. There are no toko or
warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car
here. Roy guesses that at the very most one
per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here
are the following: kampong (which is "owned"

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

War

000 for tolerance!

764 At death, different rites are given accord-
●178 ing to the age of the deceased. Formerly,
children were just buried, fast. Today they
are also buried, but after a Catholic funeral
service. Before and now, among all groups,
after four days a beast is killed and the house
is cleaned up. After eight days they wash the
hair and bathe (does this mean that they do not
wash until then?) and throw all the dirt into
the river. Anyway, they buried and still bury
after one day.

The same treatment is given for a person of
middle age or a mere adult. If the person is
very old, more rites are held. The blake (means
mother's brother, but also all affinal relations)
must bring tusks, goats, pigs. Until these are
brought, there is no burial. Formerly, the body
would be kept until it began to smell. Evident-
ly, this was a kind of shaming. But if it got
too smelly, it was buried (and evidently they
still bury under these conditions) finally even
though no gifts came from the blake. For an old
person, a little house would be built on the
[656] grave. I gather that the government will not
let them keep the bodies any more, so probably
this practice is no longer kept up even by the
pagans. Thus it seems that they have sanitary
laws which have changed the death cult and rites
over all Indonesia.

765 In the old days, after four days an animal was killed, and after eight days they had the wash up, cleaning of the hair, and the throwing of the dirt into the river. (This is clearly a rite to rid the community of the stain of death.)

764 And here it is, as I see it. Yes, he says
178 the government now forces them to bury within
656 a day. But until now, for an old person it was
proper for the blake to bring a tusk and beasts.

Wae

764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
● 178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for
the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics
have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan
bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic
bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried
near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies,
one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days.
Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It
can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if
the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is
left messy, it shows that the dead one is not
happy. The pagans still do all of this, and
sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none
in the past. They have graves. There are stone
markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They
are particularly fond of singing. They also
dance, and there are many kinds of songs using
a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes,
and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that
they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball
kick game. This is also new here, Roy says.
They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a
kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving
is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to
have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

Wa

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
●178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry.
Formerly the food given was human heads.
They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there
was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest,
and perhaps this simply was not done
during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed
for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful,
etc. He was very vague about this, and
my guess is that it is not native in this area.
Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this
may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they
know the connection between blood, human sacrifice,
and "fat land." There must be a link
here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they
ate parts of the human beings killed in human
sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even
have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a
bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had
forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then
he corrected my previous version of this tale
and said that when they had these wars, they
didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at
once and bring the other half back to the kampong
and there kill them. He said that actually what
they did was to kill only one person and bring
the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they
killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]

[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

R

167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 ●178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

[1] [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; [2] [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

We

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala [622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

●178 342 I talked with van Bekkum^ about Kattenburg's notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are [241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

^[i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

We
178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said, he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

Wa

632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. 342 •178 The houses there are mostly the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. 622 I asked if, since originally Ndung was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt[1] denies, but that Staveren[1] says is found in Ngada above the voi there). 685 On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius[1] says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

● 178
567
565
He says that up until twenty or even fifteen years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang, and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

We

567 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like
●178 services.
565 The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all
over this area, were evidently the worst, because
they were more numerous and more omnipresent.
Bima was rather far off, and asked
only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty
565 of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius
614 says the people here regard them as aliens (as
567 indeed they are in this area, especially
considering the localism of "nationalism" here).
[173] And they themselves say that they are from
Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is
a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought
Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about
three hundred years ago? I would like to see
the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as
perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors
came. I then asked why all the people of the
kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran
into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all
the members of certain clans are a kind of
nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the
va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to
which the assistant belongs. I tried every way
to plumb this matter, and first got this information
about the kampongs:

565 (1) There are kampongs in which all the
567 "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example,
621 kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included
614 among these, descendants of slaves who
were admitted into the va'u after long residence,
or who now claim membership, and although no one
gainsays this, all know that they were from
lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly
some of the many men from the outside va'u, who
are especially common in Ndung and who are married
to outside women too, may have been here a
long time and may have been slaves before.

We

621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
●178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)[1] It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a
few men carry planks up now and then to the
rafters, perhaps making as though they were
carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation
is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return.
The situation is desperate, and perhaps
the folk regret having argued with the tukang
in the first place. They must "make the wood
cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned
in the shed nearby. This is for the workers,
but it had been ritually killed with prayers,
etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly
changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are
peculiar to men and women, and also some which
are used by both. These people are really
virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing
their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular
house too, and when it is set in, animals are
killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
● 178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left,
because everyone must contribute to the cost of
a new one, and when they build one they want
one that will be a strong rectangular type so
that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl.
3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed.
Each family contributes to the cost and
also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies,
etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

342
178
old type, because it has low wooden walls, whereas the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342
[592]
Inside this house (and before we entered the man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342
531
178
The conical roof is beautiful. This was an ordinary house, with merely an upright stick above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614
I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

We

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also originated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

We.

621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

342 178 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 178 [342] Usually, when they build a new house the whole population of the old one moves out and into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he
knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this
there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as
well as families from Veol. But this was all
before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

166 578 Families move because of four causes, according to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

Wo In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay
wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas[1]
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is un-
known. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

484 166 In the Japanese time trips were made to seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement [438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai. [621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 178 492 166 Today they travel more than they did before, but still they do not go very far. Formerly any outsider was fair game for robbery and murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar. [609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has [422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and [562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

We

[493] The fact that there are no buses here is a
[492] big hindrance. However, the horses help for
481 short runs. The assistant gives the travel
178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 In general there is no fear of the outside.
789 In the old days they feared robbery and murder,
609 as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits,
784 e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

We

871 Some of them come twenty kilometers, and those who come from afar sleep in this "internaat" (on the porch of which we are working). Inside there is a floor on which mats are unrolled. That's all. There are forty-eight pupils in grade four, all boys. There is no room for any girls.

There are one hundred and eighty-five pupils in the whole school. If gurus were available and there was enough space, two hundred more children would like to come to school. They now have to turn them away. Before 1947 children from here had to go to Tjumbi to go to school. This is about six kilometers from here.

There are now eight schools in Manggarai with six classes. There is also a two-year additional course in the Ruteng mission, for gurus. In Ende, there is a Middelbare School (Sekolah Menenggah). The mission hopes to open another one in Ruteng this year. (How high do these go? They have four grades, but where do they start?) Beyond the students have to go to Makassar.

[178] [185] Before the war it was necessary to force parents to send their children to school. They were afraid their children might be made slaves (the old fear! and Coolhaas[1] says that in its heyday Bima received two thousand slaves from Manggarai annually!). They also feared conversion. Now they all like school. This year there was great indignation created when the school opened and the gurus had to turn away many pupils. Parents protested en masse, and the giri tumba said they would go to the government and complain. "We have no more gurus and no more space. There are two hundred children right in the district who cannot go to school because of this." What a change!

871 185 All groups of people here like school. The

---

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wa

614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo	red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of the people here speak Malay, and most of those who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people read the sheet which the mission puts out for Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and song books (and books in the school?). Note: I saw many children with their school "tackle" hanging on a string around their necks. They wear them on their backs. They are a piece of chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo with a wet cloth. These are for writing on slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax books" showing how much each person must pay in palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are written for him. All sorts of transactions are "recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is brand new. There is practically no other form of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught here is Malay, but in class four they are starting to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example, shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly the case.

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
● 178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used
wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen
stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes
in agriculture and the plow are very recent
(five years ago). All the people are still
farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty
years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in
style. In quantity most of the stuff is not
changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However,
they still make mats and baskets. The women
make these, and the men make their plaited
songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Mang-
garai (Coolhaas'[h] is incomplete on this) and
Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning
to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these
places. The penalty is the same as for weaving:
bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one
kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo.
Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery
in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments
made from iron. Now they have equipment to do
some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other
places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for
perhaps three hundred years (they brought it
in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[h] [See bibliography, cat.113 --Analyst]

~~We~~

326 do not know how to do it.

● 178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The [656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).

262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are [264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting [224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of [223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they [438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi- [435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)

241 178 Irrigated rice fields and terracing techniques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

Wea

241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
● 178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths.
178 Only the rich had pants or sarongs.
They also had shoulder cloths. There has been
no change in the dress for women. They used
the same kilt down to just below the knees as
they use today. Now, however, more women dress
in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya
and sarongs are carefully kept for special
events. They are really one's "best," and they
are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone
owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of
shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa.
And in the Japanese time the people made tapa
again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa
making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
[301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets
[304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men
came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the
301 men were great for beads. Now they are of
little importance. The festive ceremonial
292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are
pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The
horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going
out. It was done by men who learned how, that's
all. However, it is just about gone, and there
were not very many people who had tattoos at any
time.

304 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both
178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for example,
881 the assistant) do not do this, but they

Wae

304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
● 178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

Wa

178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

The land is family-owned, but there are some
423 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
428 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan
562 tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

Houses which are large are the property of
423 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus owner-
178 ship is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses

We

476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 563 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite
old and young people going about naked. He
remembers this. They do not like too young
marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if
the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are
clans which are even larger. Not a single clan
has ever become extinct. However, some panga
have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly
all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there
have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five
thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will
check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her
back, and pay one horse. The children stay with
the dead father's family. If the levirate goes
through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the
brother of her deceased husband, the price must
be paid to the family of the dead husband, and
the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not
required. The bride price is required in the
case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because
the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the
widower and his children. The children of course
stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur
and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not
barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets
another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

586 another wife.

In the case of adultery on the part of a
586 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved husband.
684 The wife pays only a little, her paramour
562 a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

We

584 whom they like. They always used and still use
●178 intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 276 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If [848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[a] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[a] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

We

864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang ata sekontu ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

We

565
291 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
177 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
554 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met
a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he
was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
● 178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old
days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u
feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to
marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

We

771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in [871] [797] [658] terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[521] The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[829] In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

764 ●[178] Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and pray. [888] If the person who died was old or a big [654] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big 526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism, 524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the [535] bamboo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]